264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupáũa. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirũ resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] [291] ãũvanaſ 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaſ have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirũ, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaſ are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaſ.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirũ.

For the apatxirũ, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxí, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ́; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ́; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãmaĩva. 264 622 476 ● 651 The ãmaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ́ and Urukumĩ́. (Although Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxí were the chief Tanupantxóa and Vuĩraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairá and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuananhkóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuĩrantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxí belong to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirũ group has its specific ornament for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxí also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuananhkóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirũ, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirũ is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

[99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the apatxirũ. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working